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George Seldes, Editor

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#### NEXT WEEK!

IN OUR issue of July 13 we will publish the full text of a memorandum drawn up between representatives of Nazi-Germany and American leaders in politics and industry. We are sending advance copies to the Department of Justice.

#### Press Blacks Out Guild

READERS of the commercial press got less information about the American Newspaper Guild convention in Denver last week than about any Guild convention in years. Reason: it was a unified, hard-working gathering; there were no rows; the Guild is in good shape. That's good news to newspaper workers—and no news at all to commercial publishers. Even Editor and Publisher, organ of the business office, passed the convention up, sent no representative for the first time in Guild's history.

Among the Guild convention's actions: It denounced Attorney General Biddle's order for deportation of Harry Bridges, West Coast longshoremen's leader, pledged Bridges support; condemned racial discrimination in armed forces and war industries; backed closer CIO-AFL cooperation and international labor solidarity; hit out hard at U S industrialists who join monopolistic international cartels; urged resistance against employers who seek to take advantage of the war to disrupt employees' morale; backed N Y Guild in resisting Hearst's wholesale firings on his Journal-American. All-out support of war effort was dominant theme of convention.

Support for Bridges

REACTION to Biddle's order to deport Bridges has followed two clear lines from the first—labor, liberal, anti-Fascist forces for Bridges; anti-labor, reactionary, pro-Fascist forces against him, and applauding Biddle. The Axis short wave radio leaped at the chance to spread disunity in America; in this country Westbrook Pegler and the anti-labor press hailed Biddle's action as a fine thing. Pegler has dragged the Biddle decision into his anti-labor column half a dozen times.

At the same time the absurdity of Biddle's order was underlined when the acting attorney general of Australia (Biddle's "opposite number") issued a statement saying that if the U S didn't want Bridges, Australia did, and that the labor leader who had notably speeded up the war effort on America's Pacific Coast would be a highly honored citizen in the land of his birth, if he were sent back.

How others abroad feel about Bridges

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O'Britain. To find out, you must get hold somehow of the publications representing the aroused liberals, the Labor Party and independent groups in Britain. Then three things become apparent:

1. There is complete unity for fighting the war to a finish and stopping at nothing short of complete victory.

2. There is a growing movement to change the status quo, for the benefit of

all the people, and to make sure the war is not lost.

3. There is a growing belief that it may be necessary to replace Churchill and all the others held responsible for the defeats which have marked the course

At the moment it is unlikely that the parliamentary attack on Churchill will lead to his retirement, but what is more important to understand is the underlying basic cause for the widespread dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war. This is not a political scramble for office or an explosion of personal feuds. The outbursts in Commons are due to steadily mounting pressure from the people in Britain.

British leaders of the people are expressing about the same sentiments as Vice-President Wallace uttered when he said this war was a people's revolution, ushering in not a new age of imperialism but the century of the common man. Sir Richard Acland (whom IN FACT also published in full) and Sir Stafford Cripps, as well as Labor Party leaders, the trade unions and the entire left, liberal, labor press give voice to this double desire: a new era for Britain, and new leadership to win the war.

#### Listen to the Voice of British Labor

The voice of the British people is not recorded in our daily newspapers. For example, the British Labor Party in 1942 reports: "In 1940, when Neville Chamberlain's gov't fell, the Conservative majority remained, and behind that side of 'equal partnership,' Big Business is still paramount. That is the fact that disturbs. That is the circumstance that prompts serious people in our party—and many outside our ranks—to conceive it as a plain duty to the nation that privilege, in its many forms, should be removed from its points of vantage in wartime industry, finance and commerce."

Jack Tanner, president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, 500,000

"The desire of the workers to increase efficiency and production has, in some cases, been met by management with cold unreason, gross arrogance, and class distinction. . . ."

On another occasion Tanner stated: "Despite the fact it prides itself on being a national gov't, the unpalatable truth remains that employers and bankers are really the government."

These are the views of labor leaders whose men are doing more to win the war than the owners of the industry for which they are working. They have volunteered ideas and suggestions for speeding up, cutting costs, eliminating waste, saving time, and supplying the means of war. Their leaders are not unaware of the fact that the employers and the bankers still hope to come out on top when the war is won.

One of the causes for British military setbacks is said to be the ruling class control of the army. The London Tribune declares: "We had a small provisional army of something like half a million. The officers were drawn from the members of the British governing class—usually the stupidest of them. When the war broke out and the army was expanded to 3,000,000 this upper crust of officers was lifted by the normal process of promotion to the higher commands. . . . The fruits are seen in Malaya and wherever the British army has gone into action.

"In industry the same story is unfolded. . . . State controls of all kinds were

established. These were almost invariably put in the hands of 'big business men' whose connection with production was as a general rule the way of company promotion. . . . Under them the real producer technicians are compelled to serve, and they do so with the same sullenness and feelings of frustration as the lower ranks in the army. Once more the crust is lifted to the top. . . .

"In the world of politics it is still harder for the new men to break through.

Sir Stafford Cripps is so far the only exception. . . ."

### Why Britons Criticize Churchill

All of England is aroused by criticism of Churchill, just as it was by the criticism of Chamberlain which preceded the change in government, and the situation is again similar to the campaign in the First World War which Lord Northcliffe was responsible for and which resulted in Asquith being voted out and Lloyd George being voted into power. The campaign of criticism is legitimate and patriotic because it had for its objective a more intelligent and vigorous conduct of the war. It is not aimed at disunity, as is the Hearst-McCormick cam-

paign in America.

But since a campaign of criticism in wartime may be open to misinterpretation, the London Tribune explains its purpose: "We do so . . . because we consider that public opinion in this country is dangerously ill-informed. The normal sources of information which were available during the last war, and certainly in times of peace, are dried up or choked. The national press of Great Britain is more closely allied to governing circles than ever it was in British history. An over-centralized press, dominated by a small number of Press Lords with axes to grind, with personal ambitions to be satisfied, conceals from the public a great deal of constructive criticism which should be heard.

"At the same time a new instrument of mass suggestion has been created. The wireless—always a dangerous weapon in the hands of dictatorial governments—is especially so in war time. Only the official voice is heard on the air. Only the few lukewarm, tepid and fearful commentators are permitted to have access to the microphone. Mr Churchill can put his case to Great Britain, but

his critics cannot. This is an extremely dangerous situation.

"At the same time the House of Commons, where there are a small number of public-spirited members of parliament who raise their voices from time to time, is cut off from the British people, both by limitation of newspaper space, and by the deliberate act of those who control the newspapers. Journals like Tribune have therefore a duty to perform to enlighten the people of Great Britain in the views of those who disagree fundamentally with the way in which the country's affairs are being managed.

"Even if we disagree with everything Thomas Rainboro' has written, we would consider it our duty to publish his views. Nevertheless we recognize that it would be dangerous to do so if there were any possibility of creating disunity in the country. But of this there is no risk. No country in wartime ever was so

deeply united on the main objectives of the war as is Great Britain...

"Mr Churchill has been and is the symbol of British unity against the Axis Powers. But he is not the sole residue of wisdom and knowledge. . . . The building up of this man's reputation has gone as far as the safety of the country warrants. The concentration of hero-worship in one individual is always full of sinister consequences for the nation which indulges in it. It is all the more dangerous when that statesman has made himself the leader of one Party in the State; exposed himself wholly to the pressure of vested interests; and speaks only the voice of tradition and not the hopes and aspirations for the future which are stirring in every breast. . . .

"If the Prime Minister insists upon making himself responsible for all questions of higher military strategy, then he must be ready to face accusations directed against that strategy.... How long can can we afford a succession of oratorical successes accompanied by a series of military disasters? The people of Great Britain are living in a dream land: a dream land produced by rhetoric.... A corrective must be found.... The need is for a central civic directory of the war. And by civic we mean civic, not a synthetic military glamour boy...."

#### CHURCHILL'S WAR RECORD ANALYZED

THE Churchill war record, according to Rainboro' begins on Sept 3 1939 when he joined the Chamberlain gov't and when he began radio broadcasts Sunday nights abusing Russia. When Hitler overran Norway, "Churchill first estimated that the Fuehrer had committed a bigger blunder than that of Napoleon in invading Spain in 1808... finally Churchill as First Lord mucked up the dispositions of the British fleet.... I make these open charges: (1) that it was Churchill, the then First Lord of the Admiralty, who by his wirelessed orders sent the British warships off on a fool's errand to the north while the German warships forced the south Norway fiords, and (2) it was Churchill who held back the British admirals from breaking into Trondheim while there was still time to eject the newly landed Germans."

Churchill is not blamed for sending the British army into the trap in Flanders, May 10, 1940, "but Churchill had participated in the previous agreement by the Chamberlain cabinet to perpetrate this cardinal military folly....

was told to President Roosevelt last week in a letter from the Council for Pan-American Democracy, quoting protests from labor and anti-Fascist leaders in 10 Latin American countries. Typical of the cablegrams relayed to Roosevelt by C T McAvoy, chairman of the Council, was this one from Augusto Bunge, head of the Argentine Committee for Aid to Free Peoples: "The anti-Fascist workers of Argentina, the principal force working for continental unity, would feel that the deportation of Harry Bridges was comparable to Acting President Castillo's attempts to deport his political opponents."

Labor in Chile, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Ecquador, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela and Uruguay was represented in the protests against Bridges' deportation. The commercial press ignored the whole

matter.

### Alaska Byway

HEARINGS on the Alaska Highway before the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee supported the contentions of Donald MacDonald, Alaskan member of the Highway Commission (IN FACT, June 8):

That a supply road to Alaska is not

being built;

That the problem of land supply to Alaska has not even been considered. That all that is being done is the construction of a service road to two air bases, located in a highly questionable area;

That, isolated by 400 miles of terrible terrain containing 3 mountain ranges, the inland route could not possibly supply or defend Southeastern Alaska, which contains one-half of the Alaskan

population.

In spite of evidence regarding climate, terrain, elevation, cost, and impracticability from a defense standpoint, the subcommittee decided not to recommend a fuller investigation, and the decision of the Army, described as a major blunder by MacDonald, to adopt the easterly or "C" route (400 miles and more inland from the coast) will stand, unless Congress directs otherwise. Anthony J Dimond, Delegate from Alaska, has introduced a bill calling for the construction of another road, over the westerly, or "A" route.

#### Death, Suppressed

TWICE, when war broke out, William Randolph Hearst, publisher of a score of newspapers, many magazines, owner of radio stations, whose views reach more than 30,000,000 Americans, has placed American flag on his publications prominently, to hide his sympathy for the enemy. In the first days of World War I, Hearst was burned in effigy for his German support. Up to Pearl Harbor, Hearst was publishing more pro-Nazi stuff than any other publisher.

In the present patrioteering policy of the Hearst press an attempt is being made to super-heroize General Mac-Arthur. On June 13, United Nations Day and Flag Day, the Hearst press made it "MacArthur Day." In San Francisco the Hearst press tried to monopolize the celebration in Kezar Stadium. On Page 1, Sunday, June 14 the SF Examiner prints a thrilling story of the event; page 16 is fully devoted to it.

In the SF Daily News two days later appeared a tiny death notice: "Mrs Marion Livingston, killed by a flying

shell casing Saturday during the Mac-Arthur Day exercises in Kezar Stadium, was buried yesterday."

Not only did Hearst suppress the most sensational SF story of the day but as usual all the other newspapers aided Hearst by suppressing the news.

History repeats. Hearst was elected to Congress Nov 4, 1902. He planned a colossal celebration in old Madison Sq Garden. Hearst's fireworks went off prematurely, 12 persons were killed, but not a word on the front page, and on p 12 a tiny item in which Hearst's connection with the accident was suppressed.

Advertisers get newspapers to suppress stories few know about; but in these cases tens of thousands witnessed events which the press suppressed.

## Carter "Suppressed"

IN first edition of Hearst's SF Examiner one day appeared two stories: Boake Carter's regular column in which he "disclosed" that Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov was in Finland supposedly talking peace with Hitler (and thus selling out the Allies), a typical Boake Carter defeatist smear. But on page 1 was the news from Washington that Molotov had been in the White House. Ed Robbins, radio commentator, pointed out Hearst's two stories. Carter's fake was "suppressed" in 2nd edition.

## Advertising Keynote

THE Fortune poll which showed 26½% of the American people distrusting their newspapers, should be re-taken. Every time a radio listener lears something which he later fails to find in his paper, or finds distorted, a new voter against the newspapers is made. Certainly the millions who heard Vice-President Wallace speak of the Century of the Common Man, and failed to find the speech in their papers, are sure to vote a preference for radio.

What the press did with the keynote speech of the Advertising Federation of America, June 22, is another good example. Bruce Barton, whose agency is said to control \$40,000,000 worth of advertising, was keynoter, and rated five to ten times as much space as the great war aims statement of Mr Wallace. Also, Barton began by sneering at Wallace, declaring that Wallace derives from Prof Laski "who although not a Communist, is yet under that influence." This is a falsehood. Of Wallace's common man, Barton, the representative of all that is rotten in the alliance of Big Business and our venal press, said: "Certain people in Washington theorize about him, but we can't afford to, or we'd go broke." Finally, of Wallace's hope to give every underfed child a pint of milk, Barton said with a sneer, "They (our soldiers) are not fighting to put a quart of milk on every table in the world." He also

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62° or 22 THIS IS YOUR LAST ISSUE 63° or 23 You will receive 1 more issue 64° or 24 You will receive 2 more issues

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"Churchill, the Modern War Lord, has never yet grasped the elementary fact that an army is as good (or bad) as the social foundations on which it rests."

Rainboro' credits Churchill with saving the British army at Dunkirk, but the army was disarmed, and there were not arms in the country, for which he again blames the cabinet in which Churchill had been 9 months. After Dunkirk it was obvious that the best move was through North Africa where British "and eventually American forces could one day be brought to bear upon the Herrenvolk themselves." The newspapers then reported British troops and supplies "pouring" into Egypt, but Axis generals were not deceived. For reasons unknown the Italian commander Graziani, did not march to the Suez Canal, which he could have captured, but built some roads. So Wavell attacked and won. The chance to clear Libya, Tripolitania, up to Tunis, control all Africa, and pressure France and Italy was there. "But no! Mr Churchill thrust in his blade. In 5 weeks his interference had thrown away the full fruits of Wavell's brilliant effort and had furthermore committed Britain to the disastrous Balkan campaign of April-May 1941. The British public are familiar with those early botched jobs in Africa, Oran and Dakar.... I now charge him with the full load for the bungle in Libya." Wavell publicly took the blame.

The highest military authority urged Churchill to make the Libyan campaign the Mediterranean priority, and not to get tangled up in the Balkans. The Greeks, who had smashed the Italians, would have had to retreat strategically meanwhile, but according to Rainboro' it became "a question of British honor" and so "Churchill landed his expedition. I do not say that his generals opposed it. I say that Churchill insisted on it—in the same way that he insisted on sending the Repulse and Prince of Wales to Malaya, getting Admiralty consent to his demands." In 22 days the Balkan War was over, with 15,000 British and Imperial troops, who should have been advancing victoriously in Tripoli, prisoners or dead.

Then came Crete, taken in 4 days by parachutists after an overwhelming bombing attack. "Churchill might have learned from this Cretan experience that warships cannot operate in narrow waters without air support—but he didn't.... Thus did the modern Marlborough throw away his country's finest opportunity in the 3 years' war."

## Changed His Views, Not His Company

Highest praise is given Churchill for grasping the certainty that this world is not big enough for Russian Communism and German Naziism to live in it, side by side, but according to Rainboro' Churchill had a bad record regarding Russia, having himself written the story of how he sent 50,000 troops to evacuate 15,000 in Archangel, when the First World War was over, and how he had attacked Russia consistently from 1918 to 1939. Rainboro' continues:

"The Russians might have been the more persuaded that Churchill had changed his views about the Soviet Union in 1940 if he had changed his company. In his first cabinet, however, he included the Simons, Chamberlains and Hoares who had so maladroitly tried to switch Hitler's war eastwards in 1938." Churchill also brought in the Bevins, Atlees and Alexanders. But "Bevin detested and distrusted the Soviet Union." When Russia was invaded "Churchill found a great, part of his cabinet not only indifferent but hostile to the new ally thus thrust on him. To his credit he overbore them and that very day pledged the full power of Britain to the aid of Russia. Unfortunately this 'full aid' is a matter of degree and of dispute. Churchill himself has paid several considerable public tributes to the military prowess of our Russian ally. He has not opened up a Second Front, and it is no Cabinet secret that but for vast public pressure and a hell of a row in the gov't itself, the supplies which we have sent to Russia would have fallen far short of their present volume. Churchill himself very properly expressed no public anxieties about the capacity of the Russians to defend their country. What he thought and said privately is his affair. But all around him, colleagues and subordinates denigrated the Soviet effort, and when his minister of aircraft production, Col Moore-Brabazon openly stated his hope that Germans and Russians would tear one another to pieces and was called to account by a nationwide protest, Churchill refused to accept the resignation which the offender promptly offered him.

"Later arose the clamor for the Second Front. The Churchill press have pretended that Stalin never asked for a diversion in the West last Autumn. I declare that this is a plain lie. The Russians both asked for more supplies than we promised them this Spring and they asked for a military diversion last October. These original and urgent requests have been frequently underlined by public utterances by Stalin, Litvinov, Molotov, Kalinin and other Russian spokesmen. Churchill was, of course, the person responsible for refusing the Second Front then. Reading Hitler's speech today we see how near the Russians had pressed the Germans to defeat by Christmas and how little more was required to push them to disaster.

"On Sunday (May 10) Churchill, after carrying out a campaign of intimidation against the Second Fronters without recent parallel in British politics, joined the Second Front. He welcomed the 'aggressive military spirit of the British people' which for several by-elections he had denounced as ill-informed and ill-conditioned armchair strategy. . . . If he merely gave out words to conceal his intention to act, the retaliation will be swift. And will he act before 1943? Churchill has made up his mind to win this war. He is going to end the job that

Marlborough was not allowed to end, the War of Succession. He is going to be the hero-victor of 1943. Nothing is to be allowed to interfere with that purpose and that project. Therefore no risks, until overwhelming strength is ours.

"It is not a dishonorable ambition. The question is: is it a reasonable proposition? If we could go on piling up arms and men till 1943 and then crack Hitler on the snout, it would be admirable. But what is Hitler going to be engaged on till 1943? War is not an addition sum but an equation in time. Have we time

to afford Churchill's strategy?"

Since Sir Stafford Cripps became leader of the House of Commons—and possible successor to Churchill as prime minister—he has retired from directing and contributing to his paper, the London Tribune, but this weekly still speaks for a large section of independents and Labor Party membership supporting Cripps. The Tribune says that Cripps thinks "in terms of 1942 instead of 1742," but "he is one of the few people in the country who may not preach—he must act.... This is the test today for the gov't and for the parties—and for Cripps. Everybody has high social aspirations now for delivery after the war. But who believes them? Has there ever been a generation more held for a sucker than our own? That is why post-war reconstruction rings no bell. People don't believe it. What matters now above all is that Cripps and the gov't and the Labor Party should understand that a Great Reform Bill in 1942 is worth more than a promised Revolution in 1952. Revolutions will happen anyhow. They don't have to be promised."

This editorial statement shows that the same situation exists in Britain as in America, and that Vice-President Wallace's views on the post-war world have their followers in Britain, also enemies, just as in America.

### "OKIES" ALL-OUT FOR VICTORY

N important document has just been printed by Congress—Part 3 of the LaFollette Committee's report on "Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor." It deals with the status of unorganized labor in California's agriculture—that part of American labor known through the pre-war depression years as the "Okies" and made world famous in John Steinbeck's great novel "The Grapes of Wrath." IN FACT will have occasion to refer to this document in the future; it should be read by everyone interested in knowing the truth about labor's struggle for freedom. For the present we quote from the report's "Conclusions":

"It is an historical fact that the civil rights of agricultural laborers in that state (California) have never been successfully exercised despite a long record of

unrest, misery and repression. . . ."

Nevertheless and notwithstanding the terrific repression and persecution to which they have been subjected, these same agricultural workers of California, in a time of all-out war crisis, are sinking all past grievances in a united effort to help the war. Federated Press reports a song which has "swept the Farm Security Administration camps for migratory workers as they pitch in to the job of cultivating gardens." The Okies have organized what they call Truck Patch Troopers. The food they raise cannot be sold because it is raised on government property, but they figure that the more they raise for themselves the less they will have to buy and the more there will be for the soldier boys. Truck patch troops have been established in most of the camps. Growing contests have been started, among the migratory workers which the LaFollette Committee finds to have been oppressed, deprived of civil liberties, degraded from the status of American workers. And this is the song these American farm workers have made up, and which they sing as they cultivate their victory gardens:

"Look a' that rascal, there he goes, "Reaming the rows with his toes.

"Troopers need truck, man, scratch that groun'-

"Git yer head in a stalk and yer back bowed down!

"Scrouge yer hands raw, hind an' all,

"Skin'll grow back, time for cotton nex' fall.

"So hack that Axis! Use yer hoe-

"Gonna let the troopers starve? No, chile, no!"

sneered about "in the clouds with Henry Wallace" and the "so-called social gains of the past decade."

Another falsehood was Barton's: "Labor unions have the most powerful lobby on Capitol Hill." The O'Mahoney Senate committee gave the evidence that the National Ass'n of Manufacturers' lobby is the most powerful, but Barton works for many of its members. It is also the greatest lobby working against the general welfare of America, according to the Senate committee's findings.

The Barton firm writes ads for whisky corporations. He said in his broadcast: "Nature puts alcohol into every green thing that grows." Barton also said, and the NYWorld-Telegram printed that part, that "the common man ... thanks God for President Roosevelt. but is almost tempted to add another word of gratitude that there was a General Motors, a U S Steel and a DuPont company." (On the same day that Barton returned thanks for the existence of U S Steel, his agency, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne, received the contract to handle a huge new advertising campaign for—U S Steel.) These three corporations have a record for supplying Japan and the Nazis, sabotaging the defense program by refusing to convert, and going on a sitdown strike which cost America thousands of times the number of man-hours lost by all labor strikes. But Mr Barton writes ads for the corporations, the newspapers live on these ads, and so the keynoter of advertising is permitted to fill the air and newspapers with reactionary buncombe.

### \$1-a-Day Raise

Demands of United Steelworkers (CIO) for \$1 a day wage boosts and union security in the plant of the "little steel" companies were backed up to the hilt by a fact-finding panel of the Nat'l War Labor Board June 30.

Findings of fact by the three man panel were based on the discovery that the companies involved, Bethlehem, Republic, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, and Inland, are able to pay the requested wage increases, that steel wages are falling behind wages in other industries, and that the functions of the unions are of vital significance and "its maintenance is socially desirable."

Radio commentator Fulton Lewis Jr (June 29) quoted anonymous officials disapproving wage boost, predicting collapse of economic situation. This is manufacturers (NAM) view. Lewis is in the pay of Nat'l Industrial Information Committee, an anti-labor propaganda outfit.

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